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DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism.

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Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

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WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XII.

A PHILOSOPHICAL DIGRESSION.

I have made a somewhat extended review of the present condition of the principal European nations, for the purpose of showing that Socialism, which is merely an agitation for improved conditions of life and happiness, is not at all an unreasonable movement. It is due to causes which abundantly justify it, and, although its methods are open to sharp criticism, the movement itself must be respected. The safety of society lies in taking a wise and liberal view of the whole matter. I am tempted just here to indulge in a little philosophical reflection.

All readers of history must have noticed that the progress of nations upward from a condition of barbarism, through the various stages of a higher civilization, is marked by frequent ruptures of the old systems on which their society was founded. Every form of society has a tendency to surround itself by fixed institutions, because of the protection and stability they furnish. But as men grow in knowledge and refinement, those old systems and institutions are constantly being broken down and displaced by new ones better suited to the wants of the time. It is evident that whatever forms are opposed to the real progress of mankind must eventually be abandoned, no matter how good service they may have done in the past. To-day a government must be modified; to-morrow a new commercial law is declared; the next day an old social custom is thrown out as useless or harmful, and so on.

It will be noticed that whenever and wherever such changes are brought about by the natural growth of the world, there are always collisions between two classes of people; those who agitate for the change and those who oppose it. These two classes are the Progressives and the Conservatives. The Progressives are those who hope to be benefited by the proposed modifications. The Conservatives are those who are very comfortable under the old order of things and fear worse luck under a new scheme. The general character and reputation of these two parties has been nearly the same in all ages. The Conservatives, those who cling to old forms and institutions, always have the advantage of respectability and a good name. Their motives may be purely selfish, such as a desire to retain a position in the government, with vast perquisites and high prerogatives, or as having great accumulations of wealth which it is feared any changes might jeopardize. This makes no difference; the Conservatives are looked upon as the guardians of public order and virtue, and are sure to be highly respectable. The Progressives, on the contrary, those who defy public opinion and break away from present customs, are apt to be looked upon as political and social outcasts; enemies of public order whom no good citizen should tolerate. No honors are in store for them unless a good name in history be considered sufficient honor. The Progressives are the pioneers who clear away the obstructions which hinder the forward march of humanity. They start reforms which no human power can suppress, and at every new departure of this kind, at every enlargement, every liberalizing move, a cry goes up from the Conservatives that the world is going to the dogs. Then a struggle begins between the two parties which, lasting it may be for centuries, can have only one result. The world never goes backward. Progress is the law of the universe. Finally, after the changes have been brought about and all parties have learned to adapt themselves to the new conditions, the Conservatives admit that an improvement has been made. But they remain Conservatives still, and resist subsequent changes as stubbornly as at first. Those who look under the surface of things may see a continual conflict going on between these two forces, the spirit of progress and the spirit of conservatism. Doubtless all this is wisely ordered. The Progressives, unchecked by the Conservatives, would go forward recklessly. Under a strictly Conservative rule, without the forward momentum furnished by the Progressives, the world would forever wag on in the same old ruts, and there would be no improvement.

It may be shown that the prosperity and general advancement of nations is in proportion to their flexibility and the readiness with which they modify their habits, customs and institutions. It is this flexibility and an eagerness to seize on new ideas that is placing the Yankees at the head of all nations. It must be understood that I am speaking of what may be called the externals or non-essentials of life. There are certain cardinal principles of religion and government on which the average American is as fixed and conservative as any human being could well be. And it may be said, right here, that there are principles and truths underlying our existence which are eternal and will never change. God is himself "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." But human beings and human institutions are in a transition state from a lower to a higher development, and their progress is subject to the general laws of growth and refinement. The growth must take place, and the war between the Progressives and the Conservatives comes from a difference of belief as to what is essential and what non-essential. In other words, there is a constant tendency to let forms and institutions take rank with principles as to essentiality. For example, there is at the present time a sharp division in the Church of England as to whether the worshipers should bow to the east when kneeling or to the west; and whether certain styles of vestment should be worn by clergymen, or certain other styles. Two parties are squabbling over these matters, while a third holds that the subjects of dispute are non-essential; which is certainly a rational view considering that "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." In the same way men come to regard certain forms of government and administration as absolutely essential, when in fact those forms do not subserve the real objects of government so well as others would do.

It is in respect to the external customs and forms of life that the Yankees may be said to have very little conservatism as a nation. They delight in new inventions, and do not value anything a rush merely because it is old. At the opposite extreme are the Chinese. They never change. They now paddle their soup into their mouths with chop-sticks, just as they did in the time of Confucius. The fact that all the rest of the world use spoons has no influence with them. They dress, wear pig-tails, and worship Joss, just as they have for thousands of years. It is this rigidity of custom and inability to change that produces the antagonism of feeling which is so intense on our Pacific coast between the Chinese and Americans. If the Chinese would amalgamate and adopt American ways there would be no difficulty. China is the oldest nation on the globe, but its conservatism is so great that it has added little or nothing to the advancement of mankind.

It is this same dislike of change which is, to a great extent, the cause of England's present manufacturing decline. In a letter written by an intelligent Englishman to the New York *Herald*, dated at Birmingham, March 28, 1879, this idea is put forth. I quote a few paragraphs:

"CONSERVATISM AMONG ENGLISH MANUFACTURERS.

"The chief fault of the manufacturers is their conservatism. They prefer to stick to old processes and old models, and are unwilling to please or suit the tastes of their customers. They seem to forget that variety is the order of the day, and that in stuffs nothing remains in fashion long. They have shown more yieldingness in the patterns of stuffs which they have made for the Eastern and Asiatic markets; but even here they have tried too much to impose their own ideas on the natives; and Russian and German goods at the same price are usually preferred, and in some cases even sell at higher prices. The French are much quicker to catch the feeling of change in the air, either by taking advantage of a pattern which is about to prevail or to introduce one. The consequence is that French manufacturers are constantly making slight alterations in their machinery, by which they produce new stuffs; and the world is now so united that

what is the fashion in France speedily becomes so in England. English manufacturers, on the contrary, look to the great cost which would be incurred by changing their machinery, and frequently continue producing articles which do not sell at the time in the hope that some day they may again satisfy public taste. For instance, the fashion now is for soft French stuffs instead of the figured and lustred ones made in England; but, notwithstanding this change of taste, I know a manufacturer in Bradford who has piled up in his warehouse $400,000 worth of lustred goods, which he keeps on manufacturing, although for the last two years he has sold none of them. He acts on this principle simply because his father made such goods, he himself has always made them, and he is sure that sometime they must sell.

"Another example of the conservatism of the English manufacturer is manifested in the preference for hand work to machine work. In many respects hand labor is superior to machine labor where it is perfectly well done. But in cases where hand labor is thoroughly well performed the articles become too expensive to compete with those of a similar kind made by machinery.

"As an example of the adherence to old methods I will speak of locks. Until very recently there has been no change in certain kinds of English locks, such as rim locks, for the last fifty years. There is the same primitive method of fastening the knob to the spindle and the spindle to the machinery of the lock as then existed. The result is that these locks are very ugly and, strong as they may be, there is not one of the cheap locks which after a year or two will either open or shut the door without a great effort. Owing to the bad fitting spindle the knob does not meet the 'rose' and the 'rose' answers no purpose of steadying the knob, but simply covers the hole in the door. The keys are filed instead of being stamped, and in consequence are larger, heavier and coarser. These defects are in great part owing to the system of hand labor in small shops by what they call 'little masters,' who cannot afford to purchase machinery. If certain branches of English manufactures are not to come to a standstill these 'little masters' must be abolished and labor-saving machinery take the place of much hand work.

AMERICAN *vs.* SHFFIELD SCISSORS.

"In Sheffield it is now acknowledged that American scissors are far superior to those of English make. An English first-class pair of scissors goes to the blade-grinder three times, to the shank-grinder twice, to the putter together three times, and before it is finished it passes from one small shop to another fully twenty times. A leading manufacturer in Sheffield the other day showed his workmen an assortment of American-made goods, and, taking up a pair of tailor's shears, offered to give the union £50 if any of his men, in a month, would produce one pair of shears as good as the American. The challenge was not accepted."

What is true in regard to progress in business must also be true, in a greater or less degree, of all merely human institutions. It will not do to assume at this stage of our existence that there can be no further improvement; but all human environments must be held subject to such changes as will best adapt them to the needs of the people. The institutions are made for man, not man for the institutions.

This theory of a constant, natural growth and development, requiring frequent changes in all the forms by which society is organized and regulated, is the one on which Socialism must rest its claims for recognition. The world certainly needs improved homes for all classes of people, improved methods of government, improved systems for the production and distribution of wealth, etc.; and if Socialists labor to bring about these improvements by peaceable and legitimate means, they will surely be honored in the future, no matter how much they may now be despised and abused. It is just here that the distinction between the peaceable American Communists and the revolutionary European Socialists must be made clear and strong. The two are now very unjustly confounded in the popular estimation, but the difference between them is so ocean-wide that it must some day be recognized and acknowledged. The Russian Nihilists and German Socialists must stand or fall on their own merits; I do not assume to judge them.

F. W. S.

(To be Continued.)

SOCIAL SPIRITUALISM.

The editor of the London *Spiritualist* makes the following pregnant suggestion on "Social Spiritualism:"

"All human experience proves that social custom is a stronger force than political power, and that when the two are brought into violent conflict the political power is sooner or later overthrown. There is, therefore, reason why every effort should be made to foster the growth of the social aspects of Spiritualism; it should be a movement connected with family life, and made to spread from home to home, rather than from public meeting to public meeting. The professional mediums, whose manifestations and personal character deserve it, should have as many regular engagements as possible in the homes of Spiritualists, so that inquirers who wish to see them can be present only by private invitation, and not at their own will and pleasure. Perhaps it is not possible to stop public séances entirely, but the best mediums should be so well supported in other ways that they will receive strangers only by written introduction, and be thus protected from the remnant of the spirit of persecution yet abroad in the world. If these principles be generally adopted, political and other external powers will have no means of persecution except by trying to intrude into private homes; any attempt of that kind will rouse the indignation of every grade of society, and will assurely fail. Drawing-room meetings next season in connection with Spiritualism would confer considerable strength."

DEMOCRATIC THEOCRACY.

[The following plan of government was first published in 1844, before the era of telegraphs and steamships; but its suggestions are more forcible and better adapted to the exigencies of the present time than they were to the time when it first appeared. The only modification or caution which we are inclined to suggest, after the many years of experience which have passed since this article was written, is that *the possibility of the scheme depends entirely on the truth and faithfulness of the initial step—the surrender of nationality to God*—and this initial step cannot be taken by paper contract or constitutions, but only by a *national revival*, of which the great surrender and fusion of the day of Pentecost was the archetype. With such an outset—with such men as the converts of Pentecost for the controlling power in the State—we believe that the plan proposed would be entirely feasible and fruitful of all good. Without such an outset—with only the disputers of this world for the managers—the plan would probably be the worst the world has ever tried. These suggestions are indeed visible throughout the article, but it is well to emphasize them in these days of extravagant faith in human liberty as the only means of evolution.]

If a nation should annex itself to the kingdom of heaven, its government, so far as all ordinary matters of legislation are concerned, would still be *human*. When individuals surrender their hearts to God he governs them, not so much by outward laws, as by spiritual influences; that is, he teaches and leads them to govern themselves. So a nation, after transferring its general sovereignty to God, would still be left to manage its municipal affairs by some form of political mechanism. *The purely Theocratic element in the government would be spiritual and didactic, rather than legislative. That element would indeed be at work in the whole spirit of the people, and would indirectly determine its specific legislation; so that in a mature Theocracy the "vox populi" would be actually the "vox dei"—the voice of the people, the voice of God.* Yet the voice of the people would necessarily utter itself in many cases by vote in some form, as freely as if the government were merely human. This question, then, still claims our attention—"What form of human government should a Theocratic nation adopt?"

We see no reason why a nation might not, consistently with its Theocratic obligations, live, if its citizens should choose, under any of the ordinary forms of government. We believe, however, that a form in which equality of political power should be extended to the largest number would best match the spirit of the Bible and the policy of Jesus Christ. So far as self-government is subjectively valuable, it is valuable to all; and so far as it is desirable that national legislation should utter the will of the people, it is desirable that the wills of all should have expression. We go then for democracy, as the true complement of Theocracy. The seeming antagonism of the two forms is no objection. The best matches in the world are those in which man and wife are so far different as to supply each other's defects. "Extremes meet" in everything that is perfect.

We will make bold to propose for the consideration of political thinkers a plan by which, we conceive, the advantages of the immediate possession and exercise by the people of the power of legislation may be made available on any scale however large.

The mechanical improvements of modern times have given us social facilities far greater than those of the ancients. The art of printing enables us to throw off copies of thought with a rapidity a thousand-fold greater than that of the readiest writer. The steam-engine carries those copies to the most distant parts of the country with the speed of the wind. The mail system (almost unknown to the ancients) distributes them in every village and hamlet, with a minuteness and regularity like that of the circulation of the blood. With these facilities, the most efficient and extensive communication of thought does not require that the people to be addressed should be convened in one place. Whoever has a message to deliver may speak to the millions scattered over a continent almost as easily as the orators of old could address an assembly in a Senate-House. On this facility of communication we base our project of a pure democracy.

Our plan is simply this. Instead of legislating, as at present, by a personal assembly of representatives, let a periodical paper be established at the seat of government, as the sole medium of proposing, discussing, enacting and recording laws. Let the whole people, with this paper for their gathering point, resolve themselves into a permanent legislative convention. Let the publisher of the paper, chosen of course by the people, and governed by such regulations as may be found necessary to secure his impartiality and faithfulness, be the Moderator of this national convention, having power to inforce the necessary parliamentary rules and preserve decorum in its debates. Let every citizen be at liberty to propose resolutions, bills, etc., as is done in ordinary legislatures; and, on the publication of any bill, let it be the right of all to discuss it before the convention, through the paper. Such limitations of these rights might be devised as would be necessary to keep the number of propositions and amount of discussion within reasonable bounds. Let this process of proposal and discussion be always going on; and once in three months (or such other period as may be found expedient) let the people in their respective towns assemble and vote on the bills that are matured. Let it be a rule that all bills to be acted on at any given quarterly voting shall be proposed in the paper at least one month (or more or less) before that voting, and let people be at liberty to vote, not only in the affirmative or negative, but also for a continuance of discussion; so that if a majority vote for a continuance, or if those who vote for a continuance, together with those who vote in the negative, are a majority, the bill may lie over till the next quarterly voting. Let the votes of each town be sent to the paper, the result published, and those bills that are approved be declared laws of the land.

It is not the object of this sketch to trace out in detail the arrangements which our scheme will require, but simply to exhibit its radical principle, which is the substitution of printing for speaking *viva voce*, as the medium of legislative discussion; by means of which the population of a State *en masse* may make its own laws, and the representative system may be dispensed with.

It will be observed that our proposal relates only to the *legislative* function. The *executive* department of government it leaves untouched. In relation to this department we shall say nothing at present, except that the usual arrangements for the execution of the laws would not be inconsistent with our plan. A president or governor might be appointed, as in this country, for a limited period; or a prime-minister, as in other countries, for an indefinite period, with power of choosing his cabinet associates. The president, governor or prime-minister, with his subordinates, might serve a legislature purely democratic as well as one constituted in the usual way.

The most obvious objection to our scheme is, that its operation would be too *slow*. Bills could not be matured and disposed of so rapidly as in a personal assembly. But this defect would be compensated by the *constancy* of legislative action which would be allowed. There is reason to believe that a legislature always in session would accomplish as much business in the course of a year, even if its proceedings were slow enough to permit universal discussion and action, as one which holds only an annual session of a few months. Much might be done to expedite the operation of our system by the invention and adoption of appropriate parliamentary rules. This branch of the subject, however, we cannot dwell upon at present.

Among the advantages of a perpetual democratic legislature, the following may be mentioned:

1. It would elevate the condition of the people. The responsibility which is now vested in a chosen few would be transferred to the whole people, and that responsibility would carry with it a corresponding demand and opportunity for general education. It requires but little moral or intellectual training to qualify a man to vote on a choice of *persons;* and this is all the voting the masses at present have to do. But summon the people to vote directly on a choice of *measures* and *laws*, and their position would be such as to require them to acquaint themselves with the principles of government. They would pass out of the condition of clansmen into that of legislators.

2. The interest of the people in their laws would be greatly increased. Government would be the work of the citizens, and not of their proxies; and men always feel more interest in their own works than in those of others. Of course the laws would be sustained better than they are now. The majesty of the legislature would be everywhere present.

3. Our plan, by abolishing the office of legislative representatives, would very considerably reduce the number of personal elections, and consequently the amount of electioneering contention and corruption. The political discussions of the people would be influ-

enced less by the lust of office, and more by the merits of measures and laws.

4. By the same means, the *expense* of legislation would be much lessened. The time and money which the people would spend in acting as legislators themselves would probably not be much more than they now spend in their electioneering campaigns for the choice of go-between legislators; and the whole expense of sending delegates to the seat of government, and supporting them several months annually with large salaries, would be saved. The legislative paper, which would take the place of all the present expensive machinery, would have such a circulation that, at a moderate subscription price, it would support itself, pay the salary of its editor, and probably yield a handsome income to the State.

5. The great and growing curse of all legislation by personal assembly, commonly called "log-rolling," would be avoided by our plan. Speculators and interested persons would have no opportunity of securing the passage of laws for their special benefit, by treating, bribing and cajoling a few representatives. That irresponsible department of government sometimes called the "third-house" would be nullified. The advocates of any measure or law would be obliged to address their persuasions to the whole people.

In these days, when the State and National legislatures are charged on all hands with abominable corruption and imbecility, and the people appear to be growing sick of their representatives, it seems to be time to cast about for some new system. Our proposal, if it is a bold one, is certainly commendable for its simplicity. We have not bestowed much thought upon it, and shall not make a hobby of it. But we offer it as a hint for the consideration of those who are seeking out methods of political reform. Perhaps it will breed useful thought and discussion.

SOCIAL NOTES ON ENGLAND.

II.

Crime.

Of all the varied problems of civilized society, the one which has ever occupied the first place of importance in the attention of the earliest lawgivers, as well as of the legislators of yesterday, is that which concerns the repression or prevention of crime. What is crime? The transgression of the laws of the State or Government under which we live. Why are these laws broken? "Because of the wickedness of the individual," we are told. A thief picks your pocket, a burglar breaks into your house, a ruffian assaults your person; and if possible to detect and capture the criminal, you hand him over to the authorities. You say he ought not to have done what he did; that, as a "free moral agent," he was at liberty to choose the good rather than the evil way; but having yielded to the wrong impulse, and broken the law, he must now endure the penalty. And society either shuts him in prison or takes his life, according to the degree of criminality of which it finds him guilty. But even the rudest society is not content with a punishment of the offender; it desires to prevent others from imitating his example. Probably all civilized Governments of the present day depend on three principal means for the accomplishment of this end. Let us look at them:

1. The earliest and most universally adopted has been the infliction of punishments so severe as to frighten men from following the course of the criminal. A hundred years ago, when John Howard began his study of the prison-world of Europe, he found few countries in which the state of the prisons was not superior to the condition in England; and none where the punishment of death was inflicted for so many offenses. For hunting or wounding any deer in any forest or park the penalty in this country was death. For breaking down the head of any fish-pond so as to destroy the fish—death. For cutting down any tree planted for fruit, shade, or ornament on land not belonging to the offender—death! Cutting a hop-band in a hop-plantation—death! Smuggling, coining, or forgery—death. Robbing the mail—death. Stealing from a barge or vessel on the river property to the value of five shillings ($1.25)—death! Between 1749 and 1771 in London alone 678 persons were publicly executed, of which only seventy-two were hung for murder. All the rest, over six hundred, were hung for minor offenses, mostly against PROPERTY.

Did this Draconian code prevent crime? The criminal returns for a single decade are interesting on this point. The executions in 1760 were 14. In 1761, 22. In 1762, 25. In 1768 they had increased to 54. In 1769, 71. In 1770, to 90. After many years it began to be seen that crime did not decrease as it should by the infliction of the highest penalty known, and gradually a more humane code was introduced into the criminal jurisprudence of England. It is perhaps worthy of passing remark that all efforts to this end were strenuously opposed from first to last by the highest legal authorities, and by the bishops of the Church of England, sitting as lawgivers in the House of Lords. That punishment acts as a deterring force against the commission of crime is highly probable; that it *effectually deters, no one can claim.*

2. The second means for the prevention of crime upon which society depends is the inculcation, from the earliest years, of correct principles of morality and religion; not "mere morality," however, is held to be sufficient; these natural laws must be enforced by the teaching of the "true religion." As to what this is, men differ as widely as their creeds diverge. The Roman Catholic objects as vigorously against "godless schools" as to Protestant teachings; the Protestant refuses to exclude the reading of his Protestant Bible from public schools; and I never heard of a Jew who would place his daughter in a convent or his son in a Jesuit's seminary for instruction and education. The majority of the Christian world believe that the inculcation of a belief in the doctrine of eternal punishment is a most powerful deterring influence. How far these opinions are true I do not stop to inquire, but point rather to the self-evident fact that *even this moral training is not a sufficient prevention of crime.* The greatest crime against property which has happened in Great Britain for many a year was the act of men in high standing in society and especially in the church: I mean the Directors of the Glasgow Bank. Nearly every one of them was either an elder, a deacon, or a Sunday-school superintendent. How few murderers, for example, are skeptics in religious matters! The late Mr. Peace, who was executed the other day, spent his last hours in writing religious advice to his friends; and in his speech on the scaffold expressed his certainty of going to the place of the blessed. I believe the spectacle of negroes, executed for most atrocious crimes, yet exhibiting in their last moments a most fervent faith and piety, is not at all unusual in America.

3. In recent years, however, we have been told that the one thing yet needful, for the prevention of crime, was the enlightenment of the masses. It was found that the vast majority of law-breakers were among the poor and ignorant classes of society; and hence it was argued that the true method was to educate. A certain degree of mental culture must be given to every child; "it is not enough that Hodge knows his catechism, or the penalty of crimes: you must teach him to read, write and cipher." The experiment of thus training the coming generation is now being tried. That it will have a great influence on the lower classes for the better cannot be doubted; but that it will extinguish or even greatly decrease the amount of law-breaking—the present social arrangements being unaltered—I do not believe.

What, then, are we to hope from the future? That we must depend on the agencies already tried for some amelioration, relinquishing the hope of a future without crime? That we must have "with us always" our prisons and our gallows? Surely, if this be true, the outlook is far from promising. For, taking the best statistics as evidence, crime increases rather than diminishes from year to year.

There is, however, for Socialists another aspect to the question, and a more hopeful view of the possibilities of the future. It involves, however, a totally different conception of the causes of crime, and of the limits of human volition. Let us state this view in as few words as possible:

1. *The bad actions of mankind are determined by the state of the society in which they live. Crime is, therefore, a product of defective social organization; under the same conditions almost uniform in quantity; a disease which needs the removal of causes, before the application of remedies.*
2. *Crimes cease to occur when the social arrangements under which they appear are changed or abolished.*
3. *To reduce crime to its least quantity, ascertain the causes and obviate these conditions of society.*
4. *When a perfect organization of society has been discovered and carried into effect, crime will disappear.*

Let us test some of there assertions. If the first two are true the remainder naturally follow; and the first two are capable of proof. Writing from England, I take English criminal statistics, although the phenomena are equally well-marked in other countries. Now if the bad actions of men depend upon misdirected human volition, perfectly controllable, or upon any other capricious cause, we should expect to find a constantly varying amount of law-breaking. If, on the contrary, as Mr. Buckle long ago pointed out, these actions depend upon the conditions of surrounding society, and result from general laws, we shall expect to find that from year to year, while the conditions of society remain unaltered, the relative amount of criminality remains the same.

To test this I have recently consulted one of the last published reports of the English Government—"Blue Book No 42, for Year 1876." It gives statistics for nine years, or from 1867 to 1875 inclusive. (The odd figures are omitted.)

Year.	No. of Criminals sent to County Jails.	No. of Convicts undergoing Penal Servitude.	No. of Murders and Manslaughters.	No. of Paupers in receipt of Relief.
1867	120,000	7,000	392	930,000
1868	132,000	7,000	461	990.000
1869	145,000	8.000	387	1,010,000
1870	146.000	8,000	381	1.030,000
1871	138.000	9,000	381	1,030,000
1872	136,000	9,000	387	970,000
1873	144 000	9.000	407	880,000
1874	146 000	9,000	409	820,000
1875	150,000	9,000	351	800,000

What deductions may be drawn from these figures? First, that, if anything, crime is slightly on the increase in England. Secondly, that the relative amount, *under our present conditions of society*, does not greatly vary from year to year, but remains a fixed quantity or product. And this is true, not only of lesser offenses against property or person, but of the highest crime known to society, murder. Mr. Buckle mentioned this uniformity many years ago. All these statistics gathered since only prove the justice of his generalization. Such facts as these make even prophecy not impossible. How many murders and manslaughters will be committed in England during the year 1879, supposing no disturbance or change of present social arrangements? For nine years the average number of this crime has been 394; varying from 351 to 461. If one should venture to predict that in the present year the number would be between 300 and 500, and probably nearer the latter than the former figure, I think his estimate would be confirmed by future statistics. In other countries than England we should find a widely different state of affairs; but a *uniformity of quantity* to the there existing causes. In Spain we should find more murders resulting from quick and sudden quarrels; and fewer, perhaps, of minor offenses against property. In temperate countries, such as Germany, Italy, Austria, etc., fewer crimes which result from drink. In Russia more political assassinations. In America more murders for revenge, as husbands desiring to vindicate their "honor," or women who shoot false lovers. I do not remember a single case in England, France, or Germany, where a woman has shot a man who had seduced or deserted her.

The next statement to be tested is, whether crimes cease to occur when the conditions of society, under which they appear, are changed or abolished. But no student of history can doubt this. I need hardly refer to the two "crimes" for which, during the past thousand years, more men and women have suffered cruel deaths than have been executed for any other offenses: I mean heresy and witchcraft. A couple of centuries ago, to speak against the king, or to express a wish for his death, was to commit the crime of High Treason. Is this crime possible in Republican America, France, or Switzerland? Not many years ago smuggling was a capital offense; and smugglers were hung in chains on the coasts of England—a punishment and a warning. But free trade destroys the possibility of this crime. Coming down to later times: it was not long ago, in America, a crime to aid and abet a fugitive slave in escaping from his master. But by changed conditions of society, by abolition of slavery, have we not made this crime impossible? Take that saddest of all crimes, the murder of infants by mothers. Three were found murdered in one day of last week, in London. Has this crime happened once during a hundred years in Shaker Communities? But take a yet more striking instance. In England a man, found at night in a field not his own, in search of wild game, for a third offense may be sent to prison for three years; and if he resists arrest with a stick, or other offensive weapon, for five years. He is guilty of the crime of poaching, and a most serious offense it is considered by the propertied classes of this country. And yet this crime is not even recognized by our American laws. We have changed the conditions of society which make it possible.

These examples seem to me most potent and significant indications of what we may hope for the future.

Of all crimes, the vast majority committed are offenses, either direct or indirect, against the institution of private property; and this, too, whether the offender be a Tweed, fattening on the people's money, or a beggar who steals a loaf. But suppose society should sometime modify this institution of private property; that a day should again come, like that one eighteen centuries ago, when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common;....neither was there any among them that lacked." Shall we *then* have pickpockets and bread-stealers, robbers and burglars? The supposition is as impossible as to imagine a smuggler in a free-trade country, or a poacher on an American prairie. M. D.

London, England, April 10, 1879.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1879.

We have received the "Articles of Incorporation of the Icarian Community" and also the "Act of Donation to the Icarian Community." The individuals named in these documents are the ex minority of the old Icarian Community. The objects of the new Community, as stated in the articles of incorporation, are the mutual support of the members, and the creating of a fund with which to provide for the comfort of the young and the old and the sick and decrepit, and to establish for humanity, in devotion to its welfare, a system of society, capable of rendering it happy, and also to prove that Community based on solidarity is realizable. The amount of capital stock is fixed at $100,000, with liberty to increase it to $1,000,000. Its debts can never exceed $10,000. The businesses of the corporation are to be conducted by four trustees, to be elected semi-annually. By the "Act of Donation" the persons therein named donate for the objects enumerated in the "Articles of Incorporation" "all the property and interest received by them as their share of the old corporation of the Icarian Community, to which they were found to be entitled by a board of arbitration. The address of the new organization is *Icarian Community, Icaria, Adams County, Iowa.* Its Constitution and By-Laws will soon be printed for distribution to interested persons. Both branches of the extinct Icarian Community have now organized under the same old name, which is likely to prove a source of annoyance and embarrassment to all concerned.

SOCIAL SOCIALISM.

The article we copy in another column, from the *Spiritualist*, on "Social Spiritualism," is worthy of study by Socialists. The course there recommended to Spiritualists, to devote more attention to the social propagation of Spiritualism, and less to political and public-meeting efforts, is just the course which, at the present time, it would be wise for Socialists to adopt. If Socialism is to grow in a healthy way, become a power and win the world to its principles and life, it will be by spreading among the people in this quiet, modest way from man to man, from woman to woman, from family to family, and not by means of great conventions and the proclamations and preachings of would-be leaders. The Socialism that is needed most is a Socialism that will enter into the present family life of the world and cast out selfishness. The reign of brotherhood must begin there. There is the place to change hearts. The conversion of families into Community germs; the purification of the private lives of men and women, by a new birth out of selfishness and antagonism into love, self-abnegation and sympathy, into personal spiritual rapport with the kingdom of Christ,—this is the dynamic work of Socialism. To attempt to establish Socialism on any other basis is to insure failure, opposition, persecution. True Socialism "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." "Against such there is no law." Multiply men and women in whom these things abound; multiply families in which these are the organizing powers, and the subversion of the reign of Competism by the reign of Communism is as sure as that morning will follow the night. Community organizations adapted to every business, to every location, to every human interest, will follow as the sure harvest. They will come, not as the result of political struggle, or of force, but as the victories of peace, the results of elemental social regeneration.

T. L. P.

THE FAILURE OF INDIVIDUALISM.

In closing his ministry of twenty years in New York City, last week, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, after reviewing the Unitarian movement and the progress of free thought made this quite significant remark:

"We stand on the ground of transcendentalism. With Parker and with Emerson we believe that truth comes to the individual heart, and that man develops through his own individual life. * * * * So long as this doctrine was understood in purity, nothing but gentleness and purity could proceed out of it; but when a coarse kind of self-assertion takes the place of earnest thought and study, then individualism becomes license; then the great deeds of the world are assailed by vulgar hands, and the noblest structures of the past are torn down, never to be built up again. *Therefore it is given me to say to you that the era of individualism is near its close, and an era of organization, of construction on a new basis, is at hand.* * * * We must have some intellectual basis, some common ground on which all may stand. I am not prepared to say what; I do not know, but I believe that the time is not far distant when all who wish to work for humanity shall have some common platform on which to work."

Mr. Frothingham is no ordinary thinker; he is in many respects one of the foremost champions of free religious and social thought; in sympathy with transcendentalism and Spiritualism, on the one hand, and with the most radical phases of scientific investigation and intellectual criticism, on the other. His own individualism is muscular and pronounced. When such a man, in reading the signs of the times, proclaims the failure of individualism as a finality of social order and mental progress, his words are not idle ones. They will have the ring of sincerity.

What Mr. Frothingham thus announces to be true of the religious and intellectual aspects of the age we think is equally true of its Socialistic aspects. One of the conspicuous developments of the last forty years in the field of Socialistic thought, discussion and practical effort, has been what is termed the doctrine of the "Sovereignty of the Individual, Exercised at his own Cost." Chiming in as an easy plausibility with the great modern movement for the personal sacredness and liberty of the individual man, this superficial formula and the delusive untruth which it covered have had a wide run, a quite popular acceptance, and a fair trial. The signs of the times, at the end of a generation, proclaim a failure.

Probably the completest test of the Individual-Sovereignty doctrine took place in the irresponsible Free-Love movement, which had its rise and fall during the past thirty years. This development allied itself to Spiritualism on the one hand, and to Socialism on the other, and on both lines it left its wrecks and its wounded in the rear of its march. As Spiritualists and as Socialists, we have been over its battle-fields, we have felt the shock of its onsets and have helped bind up the wounds of many of its victims. We know whereof we speak. If results are the unappealable verdict, then "The Sovereignty of the Individual, Exercised at his own Cost," is one of the ghastliest failures in the history of human delusions.

Unquestionably there is a true individualism; but it is one which recognizes the sacredness of its organic connections. Every individual stands in a universe of life, and every pulsation of his existence impresses its record on the material and spiritual atmospheres which surround him. His physical efforts may modify matter in the interstellar spaces beyond invisible stars; his magnetic, spiritual emanations and acts may affect other individuals in the same house, at the antipodes, or in the occult homes of the spiritual world. He is at every moment a blessing or a curse, a friend or an enemy, not only to himself, but to all surrounding life. The cost of his life is not summed up in his own day-book only, it may modify the life-ledgers of unnumbered human beings as important and as sacred as himself. If there is a truth so fully demonstrated on the life of the race that he who runs may read, it is that the "sins of the fathers are visited upon their children even to the third and fourth generation." Here is cost which is paid not only by the wretched individual sovereign who perpetrated the sin, but by his children and children's children. Every fact, both in the natural and in the spiritual world, proclaims that we are "members one of another," "made of one blood;" that the race is a family, having a common Father and Mother; that "when one member suffers all the other members suffer with it;" and that true individual development and liberty come not through independence and selfishness, but through that love and subordination to God and one another which make us mediums of divine unity and inspiration.

T. L. P.

COMMUNITY ITEMS.

ONEIDA.

—The "maddest, merriest day" opened with a snow-storm.

—"I want to know!" exclaimed Bilbou when he heard the Professor's last suggestion about the O. C.

—The uprising of the grass calls for immediate action. The lawn-mower has been set at work to put it down.

—The trailing arbutus, which grows in the dank lands near the shores of Oneida Lake, attracts the flower enthusiasts to Joppa.

—An acoustic telephone between the fruit-office and finance building—a distance of about forty-five rods—is expected to save an immense number of steps.

—The landscape gardeners have set out sixty-five trees—pine, hemlock and *arbor vitæ*—on the southwest border of the home domain. These trees will break the force of the west wind and also screen the buildings from the broad stare of the railroad.

—The steward has introduced a ferret among his stores. The rats were so nonplussed by the appearance of this formidable foe, and stood about the kitchen in such dazed promiscuity, that one of the young ladies passing through inadvertently stepped on the toes of an obfuscated representative.

—Bows and arrows are all the rage among the boys. They get these pretty toys from the fountain-head of manufacture, as the Indians who live hardly a mile from us make them for sale. Mr. William Beechtree, a venerable Indian, who was living in this region when the Community started, goes to the Midland station every day at the arrival of trains with a supply of gayly-tinted bows, and there the boys waylay him with their silver five or ten-cent pieces.

—Chestnut trees are not indigenous hereabouts. We find a few scattering specimens five miles from here; but they don't take spontaneously to the clayey soil of this region. Experiments, however, have shown that if you can put a tree into just the right spot it will adapt itself to its new conditions and grow up in luxuriance and fruitfulness. Mr. Seymour set out an orchard of fifty chestnut seedlings several years ago, and has lately been transplanting eighteen of the most thrifty of these young trees to a plot of high ground near a shady retreat which has long been known among us as "Spring Grove." There, in the years that are coming, our grandchildren will doubtless hunt for the glistening nuts by the glinting light of an October sun—unless 1880 upsets all ordinary calculations.

—"There 's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

What image was in Shakspeare's mind when he wrote that? The stones for a building? Imagine the stones for a building having a choice as to the place they will occupy and hewing themselves to fit. Then imagine a divinity overruling their choice and shaping each one for a place to suit itself. Was that Shakspeare's idea? At any rate that is an illustration of human experience, especially in a Community. The members of a Community rough-hew themselves for this and that place of personal ambition, but the corporate spirit of the institution works them finally into places that suit itself. This overruling is not arbitrary. Persons do not always know at first what they were made for, and it is in the mutations of Communistic life, or in the opportunities for experiment which Communism gives, that they find out. They take their first fancy and begin to hew. They hew and try, and it is no fit. Then they choose another place and another without attaining satisfactory success, till they are ready to think their life is a failure. But

suddenly they find themselves succeeding in a place they had never thought of.

Here is Mr. A. He is a man of infinite speculation. He is a musician, a poet, an essayist, a humorist, an inventor. He would have added, we know not how much, to the lumber of the Patent Department if he had been responsible only to himself. He is an agriculturist, with ideas—more or less practical—original at least. He has experimented a good deal in the naturalization of foreign plants and the taming of wild ones, and has tried his luck again and again in the seedling lottery. In all these things he saw his destiny at one time or another. But in none of them has he realized it. He has had disappointments and frustrations, till he despaired of a career. But now he finds himself in a place where he succeeds without exertion—where all that look on throw up their caps and cheer. It is not a place he ever sought or would have thought he had the qualifications for, but it is higher than any to which he aspired. It is a place among our children. There he finds scope for all his versatility—his music, his humor, his invention, his taste for dealing with irrepressible life, and seeing growth flourish under the hand of cultivation. He fits there like a stone shaped exactly for its place.

Why not all of us believe that our disappointments, our frustrated ambitions, are the shaping of a good divinity, fitting us for a better place than we had chosen for ourselves?

—The "old-news" report the other evening contained an interesting account of a visit which the Community received in the spring of 1853 from M. Victor Considerant, the well-known French author, editor and Socialist. After Fourier's death, in 1837, M. Considerant was recognized as the chief apostle of the Phalansterian or Fourierist school in Europe. At the close of the revolution of 1848 he was elected to the Assembly. In 1854 he founded a colony in Texas; and his object in calling at Oneida was to make himself acquainted with the practical, every-day aspect of the Community. M. Considerant, like many other men of genius, is an amateur fisherman, and the following letter, written by Mr. J. R. Miller at the time of his visit, describes an excursion in which he joined. The brook mentioned has been for years utterly destitute of trout:

"Our fishing expedition went off very pleasantly yesterday afternoon, though not attended with great success. We had a party of five. M. Considerant followed our advice to leave his long, nice fishing-rod and take one of ours, as we thought it would be more convenient for fishing in the bush. After providing ourselves with bait, we started for a trout-brook in the vicinity. As soon as he had looked at the brook he insisted on going back for his own fishing-rod, saying in his bad English, 'She will do very well; I am accustomed to fishing in the bush'—and started off at a rapid pace for the house. On his return, he asked whether we fished *up* or *down* the stream. I told him that we had commenced fishing up. He said he always fished down stream. 'That is my system,' he added, and started up the hill.

"As we were walking up the bank he caught me by the arm and said with enthusiasm, pointing to the western hills, 'Beautiful! It is like my own country. It looks like the mountains of Europe.' He seems delighted with the scenery here. After putting on his bait he said pleasantly, 'Now I will try to catch an American trout.' He has a great passion for fishing, and his hook once in the stream he gives his whole attention to it, and seems to think of nothing else. I was surprised to see him fish in the bushes with his long pole, and with twelve or fifteen feet of line without getting it tangled. He caught about twenty, which was more than all the rest of us caught.

"In the evening one of the women gave him a lesson in Phonography at his request, in exchange for a lesson in French, in which we all participated. He alludes occasionally to the difficulty he has from his imperfect understanding of the English language. Before starting on our fishing-trip yesterday I was conversing with him with considerable enthusiasm about the fishing, when he exclaimed, laughingly, 'Oh! You talk like a—a—steam—what is it? a steam-boat—a *locomotive*—that's it,' which gave the company a good laugh at my expense.

"Being in the parlor one day, I called his attention to a fine French picture, a view in Paris, which you recollect we brought from Putney. As soon as he saw it he exclaimed, 'Ah, there is my own house!' and pointed it out to us. He also recognized other buildings, and seemed delighted to find a picture of his own house in America.

"I had the pleasure of introducing M. Considerant to David Johnson, one of the leading Oneida Indians in this neighborhood. Many questions were asked about the Indians and answered; and Mr. Johnson gave a specimen of their language by reading an Indian song, which he happened to have with him. Both parties were apparently pleased with the interview."

We remember with pleasure two subsequent calls from M. Considerant. The colony founded by him the year following his first visit had, we hardly need say, only a brief existence; but the founder, as we have reason to know, has lost none of his early enthusiasm for the reorganization of society. The last number of *Le Bulletin du Mouvement Social* mentions that he was present at the anniversary celebration in Paris, April 7th, of the birthday of Charles Fourier.

A REMARKABLE TURKISH-BATH CURE.

Panama, March 3, 1879.

A. Easton, Esq., New York:

My Dear Sir:—As I promised you, I have made a true statement of my sickness and the cure thereof, which I hereby inclose to you; and if you think it worth while, you have my permission to publish it. If you do, please send me a copy of same, addressed Fumbes, Peru, South America.

I am waiting here to take a steamer to South America. I expect to leave to-morrow. I am well and hope to keep so. I hope you and friends are the same. Please remember me to our friends. I remain yours truly,

Henry C. Smith.

CASE OF DROPSY CURED, AND HISTORY THEREOF BY THE PATIENT HIMSELF.

I had been ailing with the chills and fever and dysentery for about two years, off and on, when about the middle of February, 1878, after having exposed myself one stormy night in a boat near Fumbes, Peru, South America, I saw the next morning that my feet and ankles were considerably swollen. I was then afraid it was an indication of the dropsy, which gave me some alarm, but the swelling disappeared in two or three days. I was carrying on a work in which I continued exposing myself, and the chills and fever and dysentery continued to afflict me. I found that my feet and ankles swelled with more frequency, and I felt an uncomfortableness of the abdomen and heaviness of the feet and legs at night, which gave me serious apprehensions that it was truly the beginning of the dropsy. I consulted with a physician of the place, and he said it was nothing serious, and gave me some medicine to take, which I took, but it did not appear to do me much good. I still continued attending to my affairs without any important change in my health until about the last of June, when I saw plainly that my complaint was increasing, and that I ought to leave everything and go to Lima and try to get cured. I had no way of leaving Fumbes until the steamer passed on the 16th of July, and in that interval I got worse each day, got hoarse, could hardly talk at times, my feet, legs and abdomen were more swollen, my appetite about gone, and what little I did eat nearly suffocated me. In that state I went on board the steamer bound for Callao, was four days on my way, and getting worse all the time.

When I arrived, I went the same day and put myself under medical treatment, but did not get any better. After seven days I concluded to try some other medical man, which I did, and he called in colleagues for consultation. I was then swollen to a great size. Some of them, after examination, were for tapping me, some were against it, until they saw the result of medicines they proposed to administer, which they said would decide the affair in eight or ten days. I commenced taking their prescriptions, but they did me no good. In the mean time I suffered tremendously. At the end of the time allotted they had another consultation, and concluded to tap me. On the 6th of August I was tapped and had 28 lbs. of water taken from me. I immediately commenced filling again, and it made such rapid progress that I saw it would be nothing but a succession of tappings until I died. On the 19th of August I made up my mind to leave on the 22d for New York. I informed my physician of my intention, and requested he should tap me the next day to relieve me so that I could make the voyage. Accordingly on the 20th I was tapped the second time, and 28 lbs. more of water taken from me.

As determined, on the 22d I embarked for New York. When I got on board the steamer I felt better than I had for sometime, but nevertheless I commenced to fill again with great rapidity, and when I arrived at Panama, on the 30th, I was swollen again as large as on former occasions, so much so, that I consulted with physicians whether, or not, it would be better to tap me before embarking for New York. They concluded not to, but they thought at the same time that it would be safer for me to take along a trocar, so in case of extremity the Doctor of the ship could furnish the required relief. I crossed over to Colon, and took passage in the good ship "Colon" on the 5th of September, and with fine weather we arrived at Lower Quarantine Grounds on the 12th. I had by this time swollen to a monstrous size, especially my abdomen, legs and feet. On the 13th I landed and commenced making inquiries about medical advice. I had several physicians recommended, and at last, after having been examined by several, I fixed on one and commenced his prescriptions; but at the end of five days, finding that I was getting no better, I asked him for another which he gave me, but I saw it was the same as the former, and the same as had been prescribed for me at Lima. I had come so far to get treatment different from what I had got at Lima. I was not satisfied, particularly as I was filling more daily. In the meantime I heard of a Doctor who had cured several cases of the same disease as mine. I sent for him. He said he thought he could cure me, but it would have been easier if I had never been tapped. He, however, could tell better after he had got an analysis of my urine, and that then he would begin active treatment. He had my urine analyzed, and when he came the next day he said he could guarantee my cure; that he would commence the next day, and would reduce me at the rate of two pounds per day until I was reduced to my natural size. I told him it was very gratifying to me, but that I was afraid he could not realize what he proposed; that if I saw that he reduced one-half I would be satisfied. He said we would see. He wrote me a prescription to take, and said in connection, that I should take a *Turkish Bath* every day, and that he would seek a favorite manipulator who had worked for him on the same kind of cases as mine, and been successful. So after visiting the different Baths in the city, he at last found Daniel Cavenaugh, his favorite manipulator, at Mr. A. Easton's Baths, on the corner of Broome and Bowery, a new, clean place and with good attendance, where he took me and introduced me, and went through the first bath with me. From that day, the 24th of September, I took in succession one bath daily for 81 days, missing only nine days in three months. I hereby transcribe the daily results, of which I kept a record.

[These are tabulated, and show a gradual reduction from 204½ lbs. on Sept. 24th to 145¾ lbs. on Dec. 23d; we, however, omit them to economize space.–Ed. Am. So.]

Of all the agents employed in my cure, I think the *Turkish Bath* the surest and most effectual, giving me new vigor daily and radically curing my disease. Under its powerful healing influence, I gained strength and cheerfulness daily. It gave me a good appetite and digestion, and, what I had been a stranger to for many months, sound and healthy sleep. Before taking my last baths I felt that I was cured of my terrible complaint, and so thought my good physician, and said he was sure that if I discontinued the baths there would be no return of the disease. The last baths I took for pleasure it made me feel so vigorous and healthy afterward. While I was bathing there were many came to bathe for different complaints, and I heard every one say he was greatly benefited, and not in one case did I hear any one say the baths had any injurious effects.

On the 24th of December I left New York for Madison County, Iowa, where I staid until the 5th of February, and in the interval there were about 20 days the mercury ranged between 8 and 28 degrees below zero. I was out in the cold every day; some days I took sleigh-rides of 18 miles long, the cold having nothing but the most salutary effect on my system, and without having the least indication of a return of my former complaint. After the 5th of February I went to Kansas, and through Missouri to St. Louis, and from thence to New York, and then into the Oil Regions of Pennsylvania, and back to New York, and on the 20th of February I embarked on board of a steamship for Aspinwall, *en route* to Peru, South America. I write this at Panama, and up to now, 3d of March, I have been well without any return of my former complaint, and truly hope to keep so.

As the majority of the public are unacquainted with the Turkish Bath, and its powerful sanitary effects, I make this narration, hoping those suffering with serious complaints will be fortunate enough to fall into the hands of good physicians, who will recommend this pleasant and powerful agent, and that they will be as greatly benefited by it as I have been.

Henry C. Smith.

OLD TIMES.

BY C. C. COFFIN IN MAY ATLANTIC.

A half century ago a large part of the people of the United States lived in houses unpainted, unplastered, and utterly devoid of adornment. A well-fed fire in the yawning chasm of a huge chimney gave partial warmth to a single room, and it was a common remark that the inmates were roasting one side while freezing the other; in contrast, a majority of

the people of the older States now live in houses that are clapboarded, painted, blinded, and comfortably warmed. Then, the household furniture consisted of a few plain chairs, a plain table, a bedstead made by the village carpenter. Carpets there were none. To-day, few are the homes, in city or country, that do not contain a carpet of some sort, while the average laborer by a week's work may earn enough to enable him to repose at night upon a spring bed.

Fifty years ago, the kitchen "dressers" were set forth with a shining row of pewter plates. The farmer ate with a buck-handled knife and an iron or pewter spoon; but the advancing civilization has sent the plates and spoons to the melting-pot, while the knives and forks have given place to nickel or silver-plated cutlery.

In those days, the utensils for cooking were a dinner-pot, tea-kettle, skillet, Dutch oven and frying-pan; to-day, there is no end of kitchen furniture.

The people of 1830 sat in the evening in the glowing light of a pitch-knot fire, or read their weekly newspapers by the flickering light of a "tallow dip;" now, in city and village, their apartments are bright with the flame of the gas jet or the softer radiance of kerosene. Then, if the fire went out upon the hearth, it was rekindled by a coal from a neighboring hearth, or by flint, steel and tinder. Those who indulged in pipes and cigars could light them only by some hearth-stone; to-day, we light fire and pipes by the dormant fireworks in the match-safe, at a cost of one-hundredth of a cent.

In those days, we guessed the hour of noon, or ascertained it by the creeping of the sunlight up to the "noon mark" drawn upon the floor; only the well-to-do could afford a clock. To-day, who does not carry a watch? and as for clocks, you may purchase them at wholesale, by the cart-load, at sixty-two cents apiece.

Fifty years ago, how many dwellings were adorned with pictures? How many are there now that do not display a print, engraving, chromo or lithograph? How many pianos or parlor organs were there then? Reed organs were not invented till 1840, and now they are in every village.

Some who may read this article will remember that in 1830 the Bible, the almanac, and the few text-books used in school were almost the only volumes of the household. The dictionary was a volume four inches square and an inch and a-half in thickness. In some of the country villages a few public-spirited men had gathered libraries containing from three to five hundred volumes; in contrast, the public libraries of the present, containing more than ten thousand volumes, have an aggregate of 10,650,000 volumes, not including the Sunday-school and private libraries of the country. It is estimated that altogether the number of volumes accessible to the public is not less than 20,000,000! Of Webster's and Worcester's dictionaries, it may be said that enough have been published to supply one to every one hundred inhabitants of the United States.

THE METHODS OF SPIRITUALISM.

One of the most noteworthy and interesting contributions to Spiritualistic discussion, of late, is a paper read before the Chicago Philosophical Society, by Frederick F. Cook, a member of the editorial staff of the Chicago *Times*, entitled "Spiritual Rationale." The following paragraphs on the order and method of the coming in of the Spiritual age are suggestive:

The time having arrived in the order of human progression to widen the avenue of communication between the two worlds, two methods were open to the spiritual powers—to admit only the higher class of minds at first, and let the truth in diluted and contracted form work downward; or, taking the opposite course, start the movement at the very foundations of society, diversify it to the utmost, employ chiefly blind forces, and hedge the whole about with mystifying safeguards. The first course represents the human method of teaching; the last is the mode adopted by the more enlightened spirit-world. The difference is expressed by preaching and practicing. In this lies the solution to all the mystery.

It is charged against the movement that it is almost wholly confined to the uncultured. While the ranks of the believers contain many of the most enlightened minds of the age, I am free to admit that its potency lies, as yet, chiefly with a class untramelled by precise definitions or exact thought—that it is these who give it substance, stamp it with their peculiarities, and represent it in

THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

One day mankind will rejoice that this is so—that in the infancy of this dispensation the blunders of human wisdom were kept out of its experience, and that the guides were wholly spiritual.

We sometimes learn most of the true side of a question by studying its false side. Let us suppose, therefore, that the spirit-world had taken the human-wisdom course in this instance, and confided its secrets first to the learned. See a scientific world in the direst confusion, despairingly searching for its most cherished and now exploded premises! Behold a religious world in the throes of soul-agony, sitting haggard and distracted amid the *débris* of its shattered creeds! Religious beliefs have their roots in the heart, and when you tear them out by force you take that which is almost dearer than life itself. The late Walter Bagehot well remarked: "One of the greatest pains to human nature is the pain of a new idea." No, a wise dispensation would not thus afflict the race. It would work precisely as it is working. It is stealing upon the world like a thief in the night. The change comes, but no man knows whereof. It operates as a gentle amelioration; its disintegrating force, though potent, is scarcely perceptible; fully one-fourth of the native-American element is even now converted; another fourth has become quite familiar with the idea, and is ready for acceptance without a pang; and with all this wonderful work accomplished, within less time than is allotted to a generation, the mischief done is a minimum. This shows how completely the destructive forces of the movement are hedged about.

The more study is given the method of the introduction of Spiritualism, the more is the student impressed with its wisdom. Scientific truths, having but a remote connection with the feelings, come first to the learned; but religious truths, which may be said to be *all* feeling, can only be planted where formulas and creeds have lost their significance—where the spirit has wholly superseded the letter. Spiritualism is therefore carefully veiled from those who are either not ripe for a change, or, being individually advanced, would through their influence too violently disturb the religious and social equilibrium. The first class includes all that is orthodox: the second, the leaders of science with a few carefully-selected exceptions. Had this truth come first to the *savants*, as a discovery, and subject to no conditions except such as are commonly recognized with regard to scientific experiments, directly it would have permeated the entire social economy, producing untold misery. No doubt there are thousands to whom the revelations, even in this abrupt way, would have come as a boon; but, on the other hand, there are millions in whose minds the unwelcome truth thus ruthlessly forced would have called into action all the baser passions in defense of their cherished dogmas. What cry more pathetic than that of the old heathen, who, bereft of his idol by the missionaries of a strange religion, wailed out piteously: "You have robbed me of my god."

The religious chapters in the history of mankind are written in blood. Changes involving not a tithe of the revolution expressed by Spiritualism have convulsed the civilized world. Society is wholly

AN ARTIFICIAL STRUCTURE.

It is furthermore all superstructure. Not a law, not a custom, is founded in abstract right or the facts and possibilities of human nature. Progress thus far has been all patchwork, clumsily held together. As the fabric is now constituted no new idea can adjust itself to it without complete reädjustment. To admit a new article into any creed, religious, social or scientific, necessitates a revision or reconstruction of the whole. When the least change involves so much trouble, what would not a universal revolution do? This: It would shatter the entire social structure to fragments. It would be a return to chaos. * * * * *

Spiritualism puts human nature for the first time on solid ground. It is as broad as life itself. It is all-inclusive. All truths adjust themselves to it naturally. *It is a universal solvent.*

To the world at large Spiritualism is merely a superstition, having for its basis a latent credulity, forced to activity by a system of clumsy deception, trickery and fraud. Holding to this view, it is in a measure creditable in the intelligent masses that they sternly set their faces against what they believe to be but a form of Fetichism. Civilization is a hard-won fight. On its altar countless lives have been sacrificed. I am in fullest sympathy with those who would guard this sacred flame from the stifling influence of superstition. But in doing this we should be careful lest we fall into error in the opposite direction, and foster intellectual bigotry and intolerance.

Man is a creature of conformity. Spiritualism is reädjustment. These postulates give us a key.

In order to deal justly with Spiritualism, our first duty is to study man, both in his mysterious individuality, and as a complex whole. Who of us understands the operation of the human mind? Is not man the proverbial symbol of perversity? Ask the reformer by what methods he circumvents this self-sufficient incarnation of conceit! Are not the wise often the most foolish; are not the foolish wise? The truly great die unhonored in their day, and it is left for future generations to revere their memories. These things have come to be the veriest truisms; all of us recognize them when we hear them; but how many give them practical application? Whenever a science of the human mind shall be revealed it will be discovered that in essence *all permanent progress is reäction.* First conceptions are nearly always erroneous. In legislation this truth has found expression in the aphorism that the wisest laws are those which repeal others.

I have dwelt thus at some length on the human side, because I deem its right understanding essential to a proper consideration of the spiritual side of this problem. We have not only perverseness but a diversified perversity in human nature. To this Spiritualism is adjusting itself with a view to reädjustment of the entire social fabric. Its object is revolution without the usual blood-stained concomitants.

Let us now contemplate this movement with reference to some of its general aspects. It is thirty years old; it counts its adherents by millions; its literature is published in nearly a score of languages. It has entered the pulpit, the laboratory, the busy marts of trade—no place is so remote that it does not make a stir in it—and it differs from all other movements that have heretofore left their impress on the race in this, that it is not transplanted, but is spontaneous and self-propagative. It often comes an unbidden and

A MOST UNWELCOME GUEST.

It is unique in other ways, but most in this, that its best friend is its radical opposite, the materialist. This point is well worthy the serious attention of thinkers—the sort, I mean, who classify Spiritualism among the delusions. Was ever delusion so rational that it could recognize essential good in its antithesis? If madness, Spiritualism evinces wonderful method. Its ranks are chiefly recruited from rationalists, secularists, materialists, infidels. It is only now and then that a member of a church is converted, and when this happens, the victim feels as much out of place as a fish out of water. Now, this tendency of *un*belief, to what most men as yet regard an *over*belief, is certainly a very curious phenomenon, and if Spiritualism is really the delusion science would have us believe, is it not time to stay the spirit of doubt, if the ultimate threatens to be morbid and groveling Superstition.

We have been contemplating the human mind and certain general aspects of the movement. Now let us turn our attention to another side of this enigma. What does Spiritualism imply? To what changes is it likely to give birth?

Spiritualism is Revolution, not simply Reform. Reform works downward; it is scientific in its spirit, and, though not generally regarded so, is practically conservative. Revolution works upward; it reasons far less deeply than it feels. In rare instances the revolutionist and reformer are blended. The difficulties that attend a religious transition are enormous. Man is by nature lawless. Religion, whether expressed by Fetichism or an ethical refinement, aside from brute force and the love of kindred, is the sole influence that can keep this lawlessness under control. Now a reädjustment is decided upon! what an uprooting must not take place! and while the transition is in progress, what care must not be exercised! Elements in their revolutionary or reädjusting stage are always extremely destructive. Conservatism is simply another word for adjustment accomplished. In view of the trifling mischief that is doing during this most wonderful and radical of all transitions, I would call conversions to Spiritualism a process of spirit selection. It is so wisely ordered that the light is vouchsafed only under-carefully guarded conditions. It seeks and blends only with such elements as are in affinity and individualized. Somewhat of notoriety is bound to attach to all things that are in their nature marvelous, but the aim is ever to minimize the excitement, as essential to a rational propagation. And this is the reason why spirits do not meet the demand to prove themselves in such public exhibitions as the finding of Charlie Ross and the like exploits. I allude to this not because I have at any time deemed these challenges for public tests worthy of notice, but solely for the reason that they are the stock-in-trade arguments of the superficial, and as the world is composed mostly of this class, the matter may be worth reverting to in this discussion.

WOMAN'S TOPICS.

Women teachers in San Francisco receive a salary of $970.

Miss Wordsworth, grand niece of the poet, is to be the principal of the college for young ladies at Oxford.

The first election under the new law in New Hampshire, allowing women to vote for school boards, was in Sandown, and the first officer elected in the State was Miss Lissette Hunt, a bright young lady, who was educated in Dr. Dio Lewis's school, and is a daughter of G. W. Hunt, formerly a prominent hotel proprietor in New York City.

From the beginning of this year's October term at Oxford, England, women will be admitted to all the lectures on subjects taught to undergraduates. Two halls of residence will be established for women coming from a distance to attend lectures. Each student will have a room by herself, and the expenses for board and lodging will be about $105 a term.

A pleasant story comes from over the seas, of how one Madame Charlotte Erasmi, a German widow with six children, earned a competency for herself and built up a great business house, in the quaint old town of Lubeck. Some ten or twelve years ago, she started a tiny shop for the sale of canned fruits and preserved meats. She canned the fruits, meats and vegetables herself, and they were all of superior quality, and presently came into good demand. Madame Erasmi was a woman of great energy and intelligence, with business tact enough to see on which side her bread was buttered. Step by step she enlarged her factory and her sales, shrewdly and carefully, until the tiny closet which at first held her earthly possessions grew to fifty times its original size. She educated her children, meantime, in the best schools in Europe, and brought them up to be a credit to themselves and society. Her business now included the preparation of ship's provisions, potted meats and fish of all kinds, canned fruits, jellies, fruit syrups, Liebig's extract of meat, and near a dozen different canned soups. She has a branch house in London, has a large trade in New York, and sends her goods all over the world. Her business card reads as follows: "Charlotte Erasmi, Court Purveyor to his Majesty, Emperor William I., Factory for canned provisions." Kaiser Wilhelm himself wrote her a letter of commendation, and she has received prize medals and certificates from Lubeck, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Rheims, Berlin, and from the World's Exposition at Vienna. Her eldest son, now of age, has taken his place as partner, and two other sons are to be admitted to the firm as soon as they are old enough and wise enough. Madame Charlotte, however, although now wealthy, herself remains at the head of the house. What can a woman do? So much has one woman done at any rate.—*Woman's Journal.*

A New York clergyman, who went to Germany to hunt for superior educational advantages for his daughter, writes home in a very disenchanted way: "Have visited Munich, Berlin, Dresden, Leipsic, Weimar, etc. Continental female education could not enter Freshman class at Vassar..... Conceit of learning and assumption of superior culture are flaunted on all occasions.....In German belles-lettres you may mention two or three great names, and then you have to stop. German scholars are our intellectual miners, and lay in certain learned supplies for the rest of mankind, but outside of their own particular pick and shovel few of these diggers seem to have gone far. Larger men are made, I believe, by more general training."

It is well for a man when his heart gets through yelling for complete individual sovereignty, and he comes to see what vast areas of happiness would be taken away from him were he no longer allowed to give up some of his liberty and take it back in greater love and security. I am happier for having renounced my divine right of punching an offending neighbor's head. I am all the happier for having gone to the magistrate and for having obtained his consent to the consummation of my little great love affair with Clytemnestra Jane. I think it must have been a great sacrifice and agony when folks first began to feel obliged to repress themselves and abstain from stealing. But that little encroachment on the liberty of the thief has made property possible. Thus far our givings up have all worked well. Folks who join

churches go a little further than that; but the sons of liberty still adhere to the idea that it is necessary for them to think and gab as they individually please. But even they have to give up blasphemy and libel. Evil-thinking and evil-speaking are savage liberties, and we ought to freely renounce them before the golden age and constable come and take them away from us.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Russia has enough to think of at home.

How do you like it as far as you have gone?

O Spring! to me ahr-ms and say ye love me!

Greece hasn't got that piece of land adjoining.

The Zulus begin to think they have had enough.

The Russian Nihilists are nothing if not sensational.

They need Theodore Thomas in New York every hour.

It is better to back out gracefully than to be bundled out all a-heap.

The Democrats are going to stay there and talk about a new silver bill.

John, the great English Liberal, has made a speech at Birmingham, and shown that he is as Bright and strong as ever.

Now is a good time to rebel against the women and keep your sitting-room stove from being sent off to the lumber-room.

Neeah Bay, at the northwestern part of Washington Territory, is said to have an average rain-fall of 123 inches per annum.

There are 10,000 miles of underground telegraph wires in Great Britain, but they don't work well—are very feeble, very expensive and exposed to insects and vermin.

You can't preach in cap and bells—no you can't. If you try it the Presbytery will try you. You must be solemn as an owl, dry as dust and as heavy as a fossil pancake.

It isn't likely that our World's Fair will stamp round in the Central Park—more like it will go up to Port Morris on the Harlem river—plenty of room there and a splendid water front.

Some of the Rothschilds are said to have a mortgage of $40,000,000 on the Holy Land, but we don't hear that they have any intention of foreclosure or of moving on to that old estate.

Our Democratic Congress has had his little round with the President, and now he has gone into a corner to sponge off and see if he can get any more wind into himself. There was a lot in him before.

Orenburg, Russia, a fortified city on the Ural, was nearly destroyed by fire on the 28th ult. In 1867 its population was over 33,000, and until lately it was the eastern terminus of the Russian railway system.

The Stanley-Hazen Court-martial will completely exonerate the latter General from every charge of fraud and cowardice. It will now be General Stanley's turn to realize that somebody is a Hazen him.

Lord Lorne has been instructed from home to follow the advice of his Ministry in respect to the removal of that recalcitrant Lieutenant-Governor Letellier of Quebec. He can't lean on the old folks at home.

Garibaldi has issued a manifesto approving the Democratic League for the attainment of universal suffrage in Italy. There are at present only about 600,000 voters in that country. The population is 28,000,000.

The President not only can write his "own pieces," but he has some of them prepared a long time before "composition day" arrives. That was why his veto message was such a well-seasoned rod for the Democratic back.

Mrs. Fletcher Webster, whose husband fell on the field of battle, is now under the painful necessity of asking Congress to raise her pension from $30 to $50 a month. She is the last survivor of a family made famous by the Great Expounder.

The plantation-Democrat thought if he only cracked his whip the nigger would come down. But the presidency didn't happen to be occupied by a person of that color. That is where the Democrat overestimated his power of command.

Mrs. Sarah Josepha Buel Hale—for fifty years editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*—died, April 30th, at Philadelphia, her home. Her writings are abundant and varied: and she may be said to have had a large place in literature, but not a prominent one.

I don't think you would feel well to have the President prod you out of the Indian Territory with a bayonet. But that is just what he'll do if you go a pirating into that country as some of you purpose to do. General Pope will be there to stop you.

France and England have sent a joint note to the Khedive. They demand that he shall appoint an English and a French Minister. They have also dispatched some men-of-war to hang around the mouth of the Nile while the Egyptian considers that little *billet-doux*.

The Board of Health of Carlsruhe, Baden, Germany, publishes a notice stating that chemical analysis shows that the outer parts of the packages of American canned beef, which have been in contact with the tin of the cans, are impregnated with lead and are injurious to health.

Captain Paul Boyton in his marine dress has paddled his way down the Alleghany, down the Ohio, down the Mississippi, down at last to New Orleans, all the way from Oil City, Pennsylvania—2,342 miles in all. The expedition took nearly all the fat off him and nearly all the tuck out of him.

It is estimated that about 9,000 colored emigrants have made their way to Kansas since the beginning of the year. At the last accounts some 3,500 of them were huddling around Wyandotte—scarcely knowing what to do with themselves, and greatly embarrassing the authorities of that town.

William Winter tells us in *Harper's* that the English did not fairly wake up to the importance of the Shakspearean relics till our own P. T. Barnum seriously proposed to purchase the cottage in which Shakspeare was born and take it to America and add it to the attractions of his thriving "show business."

The original of the famous dispatch by General John A. Dix to Lieutenant Caldwell at New Orleans, containing the order: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot!" is owned by the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, Trinity Rectory, New York, son of that old Christian hero and soldier.

The sale of the $10 convertible certificates is now going on. The Government has to exercise a great deal of vigil to prevent speculators from buying them up and thereby keeping them out of the hands of small investors. Our foreign population—the French and Germans—show the liveliest appreciation of this kind of investment.

Dr. John Brown Smith, of Belchertown, Mass., is advertising himself by going to jail for refusing to pay his poll-tax. What fine-spun tweedledum he has got into his head respecting the relations of a man to the community at large, we know not. Maybe he thinks that he never joined that society anyhow, and shouldn't be called on for any dues.

On Thursday, the 1st, the House of Representatives went through the form of attempting to pass the Army bill over the President's veto, the vote being 120 to 110, not quite two-thirds in the affirmative. The Democrats don't talk much about surrendering—all that talk comes from the other side—but they are evidently looking for some sort of hole by which to escape from their dilemma.

Presbyterianism, with its seven thorny points of Calvinism, more or less, has effected a lodgment in Mexico. After six years of labor it has established 22 churches, with an aggregate membership of 3,000. There is a theological class of 18 students in the city of Mexico, and in northern Mexico there are three missionaries at work, planting the true ism among the tree cacti and Catholics.

This is the time when everybody has dirt in the eye. The women loop up their skirts and tackle house-cleaning, and the men, if they have emerged a little from the primeval masculine insensibility to rubbish, try to get time to put their dead cats and old tin cans and ash-heaps out of sight. An earthly heaven of perfect cleanliness is worth seeking after, but don't give up too much of your internal heaven of peace and quietness to get it.

The *Saturday Review* looks upon Nihilism as a sort of craze—a chronic hate and melancholy discontent with the existing order in Russia—nothing more. The Nihilists have no Russia which they wish to substitute for the Russia which exists. No political body could be less fit or less inclined than those assassinating Nihilists to rear up the fabric of constitutional government. Killing the hated representatives of the old system satisfies all the feeling they have.

On Tuesday, April 29th, the Bulgarian Assembly of Notables raised Prince Alexander, of Battenberg, to the throne of their country. He is a young man of 22, and the second son of Alexander of Hesse. He received a military education, and in the late Turco-Russian war he served on the staff of the Grand Duke Nicholas, and was one of the first to cross the Danube. "His sisters and his cousins and his aunts" make him related to nearly every court in Europe. He is sufficiently Russian.

Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, has set his heart on having a little change made in the working of our Governmental machinery. He wants to have the Cabinet officers sit in the House and be on hand to answer questions. He admitted that his plan might have a tendency to make the heads of departments less responsible to the President and more responsible to Congress than they now are, though this was not his intention on framing his bill. The Confederate Congress tried this plan, but it did not work eminently well.

Ex-Judge George G. Barnard, who was impeached some years ago and sent down from the New York bench, died on Sunday, the 29th ult. Corrupt as he was, he was keenly alive to his disgrace. His health was so shattered by the blow that his friends thought it best to place him on a tug-boat, where he lay for ten days breathing the sea-breezes of the lower bay. His wife could never shake off the depression from which she suffered, and died two years afterward. This is tragedy. Perhaps the reader still believes that our men in high places can sin with impunity.

The Supreme Court has rendered a judgment of some interest in view of the controversy in Congress over the Juror's Test Oath. A case came up on appeal against the ruling of the Court below, viz., that a juror who, having been challenged and asked whether he had not taken part in the rebellion, refused to answer, was justified in refusing to answer, and in absence of proof of his participation in the rebellion was competent to serve. The Supreme Court has confirmed this ruling, on the ground that a man cannot be compelled to criminate himself—an admission that he had borne arms against the United States being a confession of treason.

The pious respectables, of Newark, New Jersey, who, it is charitable to suppose, hate other folks' pleasures as a snare of the devil, got up a Law and Order Society to prevent the sale of beer and pretzels on the Sabbath. Thereupon Lager Beer said, "If that is your game I'll give you the whole of your antiquated Sunday law, and see how your Puritan worships like that." A Citizen's Protective Association was formed to put the whole law into force. It stopped the sale of that edifying sheet called the New York *Sunday Herald*, and would have proceeded to shut up the barber-shops and stop the sale of milk. Lager Beer was a little ahead at last accounts, but he looks tired and sober, and has concluded to take his pleasure sadly.

The "Moses of this Negro Exodus" is one Benjamin Singleton, sometimes called "Pap Singleton." He was born at Nashville, Tenn., and is about seventy years old—"a little man with wavy, iron-gray hair, square jaws, full, quick eyes, and a genuine expression of honesty, courage, and modesty. Benjamin was born a slave. He was sold at least a dozen times; and twice he failed in attempting to abscond from servitude. After reaching Canada in safety he soon returned to Detroit, where he busied himself with helping fugitive slaves on their way to freedom. After the war he returned to Tennessee. His mission now was to persuade his brethren to get homes of their own instead of hiring them of the whites. Failing in this, he turned his attention to Kansas. Singleton alone has taken 8,000 blacks to that State."

The President has vetoed the Army Bill. His action was a surprise to nobody except to the Democrats. The message giving his reasons for his action is a well-considered paper and has the weight of several thousand bricks laid on the Democratic spirit. He gives as his reasons: 1, That the danger of military interference with elections is already sufficiently guarded against by existing statutes; 2, That the constitution and laws now make the Government peculiarly responsible for the conduct of Congressional elections, and the omission of the words "or to keep the peace at the polls" might deprive the Federal Government of the only means at its disposal for securing a fair election of members of Congress, and make all the legislation for this object now in existence a dead letter; 3, That the tacking of general legislation to appropriation bills, although made use of by both parties, is pernicious, unpopular and forbidden by the constitutions of half the States, and ought to be abandoned by Congress—pernicious because it is an attempt by one coördinate branch of the Government to coërce another coördinate branch. The President reminds the House that this country is ruled by a constitution providing for three coördinate branches of Government, and not by Congress, as it would be if the President were to submit to Congressional dictation. Mr. Hayes is certainly maintaining the dignity of his office, and in this act of his he has rallied the whole party to his support, and made himself its leader.

There is another power in Russia besides that of the Czar, and it is making itself felt. We refer to the organization of Nihilists. This new force in Russian life takes in the educated and half-educated classes in opposition to the beaurocracy or officials. Notwithsanding the decree of martial law, the Nihilists continue to order assassinations and to get their orders executed; they continue to publish their official journal, and, what is more, they get it put into the *cafés* and into the hands of the Czar's agents. They certainly are making an extraordinary fight against absolutism. The time may have come for a more constitutional form of government to arise in that country. Such a thing would be according to the course of political evolution in Europe. Russia has been assisting Bulgaria to independence and to a constitutional government, and it is not strange that the Russian thinkers should begin to demand some such thing for their country. If the old Czar were now to resign the new one could make the necessary concessions with a perfect grace. As it is, the Czar is punishing his friends as well as his enemies. In places where martial law has been proclaimed porters are stationed at almost every door: no one is allowed to be out of his house after nine o'clock in the evening unless he can show a permit telling his place of residence, destination and business. Arbitrary arrests and deportation are going on without any apparent checks. In spite of all this, the ubiquitous bill-stickers, taking their lives in their hands, continue to post their Nihilist bulletins right in the face of the military and almost as fast as they are torn down.

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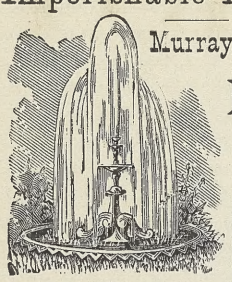

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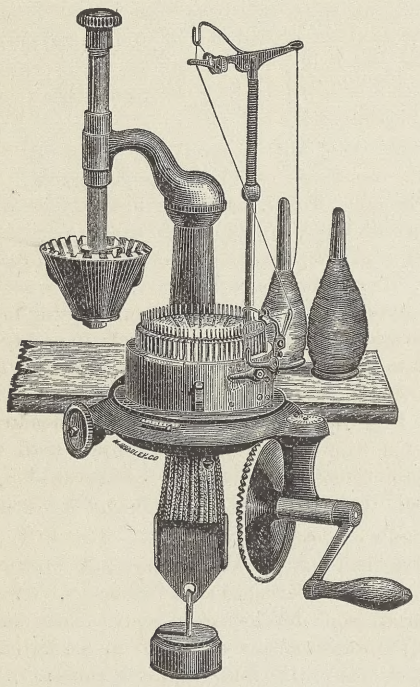

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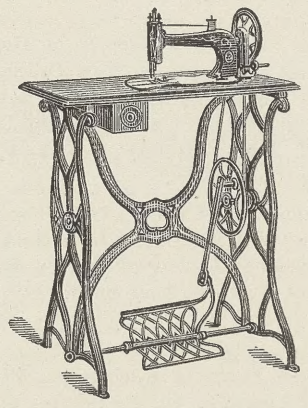

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